DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 191 167 EA 012 906

AUTHOR	Fantini, Mario D.
TITLE	Community Participation: Alternative Patterns and Their Consequence on Educational Achievement.
PUB DATE	9 Apr 80
NOTE	34p.: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 7-11, 1980).
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement: Accountability: *Citizen Participation: *Citizen Role: *Community Involvement: Elementary Secondary Education: Governance: Parent Participation: Parent Role: *Parent School Relationship: Public Schools
IDENTIFIERS	Participative Decision Making

ABSTRACT

It seems clear, in philosophical terms, that citizens have a basic right to participate in and to govern public institutions such as the schools. During those times when schools are perceived by the community as fulfilling their charge, professionals and elected representatives such as school boards are allowed to regulate the schools. When educational institutions appear to fall behind community aspirations, citizen involvement increases and teachers and administrators are called into account. Direct community participation can take several forms that may have different effects on student achievement and other measures of educational impact. Participation can be directed at either instruction or school governance, or both. The involved citizen may be found in the role of client of the school, may serve the school as a resource, may use the school as a consumer, or may become a decision-maker at some level. At present, citizen participation in governance seems to show less impact on achievement than does citizen involvement in instruction, though further research is necessary to allow conclusive determinations as to the importance of the various participatory roles. (Author/PGD)

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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Mario D. Fantini
Dean, School of Education
University of Massachusetts/Amherst

Paper prepared for "Toward Being at Home in School: Parent Involvement in Curriculum Decision Making." Symposium sponsored by the American Educational Research Association, Spring 1980. (Adapted from a paper prepared for the State of Georgia's Department of Education in conjunction with its development of criteria for Standards for Public Schools of Georgia, 1979.)

EA 012 906

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Introduction

Citizen involvement, especially parent involvement, in the processes of education is deep-rooted in American history. Lay participation, in fact, has been a matter of policy as well as practice in our public schools since their founding. Today, lay boards of education act as school trustees in local systems nationwide. Schools, in turn, have become extensions of the family home as teachers and administrative officials find themselves assuming parental tasks with accordant responsibility and, indeed, occasional strain.

That educational personnel are called upon to serve in loco parentis indicates the functional tie between institution and home. It suggests, too, the complex nature of that bond insofar as the concept, as explicitly stated, affirms a parental element within the educational process at the same time that it transfers parental authority to the schools. As a result, if we represent the relationship between home and school as illustrated in Figure 1,

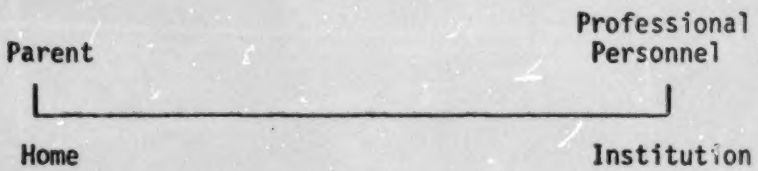


FIGURE 1

The author would like to acknowledge, with gratitude, the contributions made to this work by Dr. Marcia S. Curtis and Ms. Vanessa Mas.

we see quite clearly that the in loco parentis association is, in some respects, one of opposition as well as identification. That is, the more that schools assume parental offices, the more parents become removed from direct involvement in the schools.

The "double-bind" of lay participation in education again reflects the basic democratic principles out of which it originated. As we will see, the abdication of immediate citizen involvement in the governance and business of public schools is as true to democratic theory as is the assertion of one's right to direct control. These two tendencies have set the ongoing dialogue that we, as parents and as educators, continue to take part in today.

Roots of Parent Participation

Before reviewing the literature or formulating our own views on community involvement as a factor in school achievement, we would perhaps do well to trace the roots of parent participation as they are formed in democratic theory. Doing so, we will arrive at a fundamental notion and early practice requiring that citizens engage directly in all political (i.e., societal) processes, in other words, the underlying value of traditional democratic theory, with its emphasis on individual participation and un-mediated involvement in the areas of production as well as governance.

Political and economic theoretician John Stuart Mill, a century ago, located the end of such participatory democracy in the creation of a genuine human community, identifying "the most important point of

excellence which any form of government can possess" is the capacity "to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves."

Mill clearly assumed society's charge to be the development of its citizenry, as much as the enhancement of culture itself. Yet, just as clearly, we can see that the setting, as well as the accomplishment of a task of this sort, would depend from the first upon at least a medium of trust in an able and reliable population. Early theoreticians may have experienced that trust; early American educators did apply Mill's postulates to tasks of their own. But, as American society grew in complexity and the experience of a participatory democracy became subject to analysis, revisions in the original, so-called "classical democratic theory," with its emphasis on individual participation, gave way to a more elitist view. At the base of this new revisionist doctrine was always the notion that the average citizen was too busy or just plain too simple to deal directly with the complicated modern political process. For decisions to be made intelligently, for basic policies to be established coherently and for the administration of political institutions to proceed effectively, elitist theoreticians have since contended, a more specialized group of political entrepreneurs is needed, to consult with citizens in the large but, in essence, to act as representatives for the masses.

What we have termed the elitist theory has both resulted from and contributed to the rise of professionalization. It has not, however, totally eclipsed the classical theory of participatory democracy, though elitism may seem, in many ways, to have overshadowed its predecessor. Rather, the classical theory, with its foregrounding of the individual

participant, and the elitist theory, with its alternative focus upon a cadre of specialized representatives, together outline the philosophic framework for all types of political participation in American society. In the educational sector, they mark the opposing terminals of our community participation model, as it presently exists and as it has historically existed.

Turning back to the start of public education in this country, we now find a coincidence of classical democratic policy and home-schooling practice. We find, that is, direct lay participation in the teaching process: the family functioning as the primary place of learning and the parent as principal educator. Following the growth of American society into the complex, technologically advanced environment of today, we next observe correspondent moves in political and educational processes toward the sort of representative participation that elitist theory prescribes. This does not indicate a total surrender of parental authority in matters of public education any more than it signifies a general silencing of individual voices in matters affecting the nation's governance as a whole. To the contrary: in loco parentis statues preserve the ultimate authority of parents as participants in establishing school policy and reviewing the procedures by which services are delivered to their children. It is, therefore, important to emphasize that the parent, like the citizen, still maintains the right to participate actively and effectively in all public matters, a right (not merely a privilege) based in the articulation of fundamental democratic tenets and in the establishment of a public school system as agent of society's full citizenry.

Regardless of whether classical or professional participation is the dominant mode at any particular period, parent participation in the governing of institutions is a central value in a democracy. It is a right per se to be validated simply by its practice. Citizen participation is, in short, an end in itself. But questions have been raised in the literature as to the efficacy of governance-related participation in achieving other ends, i.e. academic achievement and development of self-concepts among students. What difference does participation make to improve the quality of education in our schools? For instance, in the decentralization of New York City schools during the late 1960's and early 1970's, the question of utilizing community participation was a central concern of many school principals and some citizens as well. Personal inference suggests that the more direct participation in the governance of the school, the more likely the concern for the relationship between governance and outcome, e.g. student achievement.

It seems clear in philosophical terms that citizens have a basic right to participate in and to govern public institutions such as the schools. It is one thing to be guaranteed that right, and it is quite another to judge the appropriateness or quality of such participation against criteria of specific educational outcomes and goals. A central question emerges: Is citizen participation an end in itself (only) or is it also a means towards chosen ends? In the last analysis it is probably both. Some educational outcomes such as human growth are developmental processes, in which time is a factor. Unless the objectives for which the institution is responsible are clarified and responsibilities

to the interested parties are determined, discussions of effectiveness are too broad and diffuse to meaningfully affix accountability.

Not only to legislate but also to express the present-day relationship between parent and school official, the concept of accountability has been developed. Locating the authority to determine educational objectives within the community, it delegates to specialists the job of realizing them. Citizens and parents thus reserve the right to expect Johnny will learn to read; what is more, they reserve along with that right the complementary prerogative to call Johnny's teachers into account when he does not.

During those times in which schools are perceived by the community as fulfilling their charge, such prerogatives are generally held in abeyance and schools are allotted the correspondent license to regulate themselves. In short, the representative or elitist approach to lay participation is taken. In other periods, however, when public schools and other educational institutions appear to be falling behind the community's aspirations, a more classical approach to participation is taken. Direct citizen involvement increases; parents call teachers into account; administrators are charged with organizational failure. We are in such a period at this time.

A more active period of citizen participation, stimulated by the postwar baby boom and by calls for educational support to returning veterans, began to emerge in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, finding measurable dysfunctions in segregated school systems, further stimulated demands for open access to education

of real quality. In 1957, Sputnik transformed demand into virtual furor. Education became the answer to national industrial needs and the edge to international competition.

The activist period of the 1960's, spurred by worldwide response to the Vietnam war, created yet another social context for returning to a more classical form of participation in almost every governmental process. Calls begun during the 1960's and continuing into the quieter 1970's ask for further clarification of human rights, as applied to minority groups, which include the elderly and handicapped, and to the socially disadvantaged, which includes women.

All these trends have converged on the schools, resulting in the emergence of a whole range of types of community participation. PTA's, parent associations, parent advisory units, parent volunteers, homeroom mothers, community councils, home tutors, paraprofessioanals, community boards, home education: all these appear lumped into one emerging concept of community participation in the schools. Consequently, the term "community participation" has come to identify any form of citizen involvement, from district resident's control over program-planning and administrative decision-making, to the establishment of lay advisory groups, to parental choice among program offerings, to increased participation in parent/teacher councils, to the organization of home-tutors and in-house school volunteers. We must distinguish among the different types of community participation if we are to study its effects on student achievement and concepts of self-worth. Furthermore, we must define and delineate these differences if we are to formulate educational policies

responsive to the current accelerated call for community participation.

A Review of the Literature

Contemporary evidence tells us that public education is not only a professional business: it is the public's business, too. Therefore, we find the community quite naturally seeking to express its rightful role in this important process, and re-evaluating educational procedures within the current climate of reform.

Historical evidence, furthermore, affirms that we cannot overlook the past. Nor can we afford to design systems for the future without building upon the research already at hand. We can, however, set our perimeters to coincide with present needs and demands.

To do so, we must first specify our purposes by narrowing the scope of our research views. That is, we must concentrate our study upon the efficacy of community participation as one means toward a subsequent educational end. This is not to deny the very valid consideration of community participation as an end in itself. In a democracy, community participation in education is a valued right and a political act to be guarded for itself as well as for any subsequent benefits for students it may incur. As such, community involvement--whether direct or representational--requires no further justification, discussion, or proof. As it affects student achievement (including reading, writing, and the development of self-concepts), on the other hand, the phenomenon of parent participation does require continued exploration as well as clearer and more careful delineation.

Such is the purpose of our survey: to suggest the impact community participation may have upon learning as it pertains not only to one's environment but also to one's role in that environment. Further defining our examination of present research and practice, we have established, once again, a continuum of involvement, which situates indirect-representative types of citizen action at one end and direct-classical types of democratic commitment at the other. We have also reorganized an additional subdivision that sets intervention for school governance apart from parental intervention for immediate child-development and educational service. Of equal importance in themselves, these two diverse forms may be found to have very unequal bearing upon actual academic performance and individual achievement. The distinction is, therefore, significant and perhaps even crucial. As we review the literature on the relationship between citizen participation and school achievement, we will emphasize the role of parents as instructional complements to the school, though we will also survey the effects of lay governance on learning and self-concept.

As has been true for most recent studies of parent participation and school achievement, our study will build upon the seminal casework of Gittell and Dowell. Coleman's (1966) report constitutes one of the most comprehensive bodies of data collected during the 1960's, and will serve as another foundation of research. It should be pointed out from the start, however, that we are working with a very small and restricted body of literature, despite the commendable contributions of Coleman, Dowell and Gittell. In fact, James Filipczak (1977) concluded that while advantages to involvement are claimed to be numerous, the causal linkages

between increase in involvement and the subsequent benefits are not often clearly stated, with the possible exception of a group of studies in the field of parent training. There is, in short, a serious lack of data on the effects of increased parental involvement in the schools. Like Filipczak, Stearns and Peterson (1973) have concluded that evidence of the success or failure of parent involvement in bringing about improved school performance in children is extremely limited.

Stearns and Peterson, however, do verify our basic premise that the forms which participation takes must be discriminated. Regarding federal programs that require parent involvement (including the "Right to Read," "ESEA Title I," "Follow Through," and the "Bilingual/Bicultural Program"), they observed three manifestations of parental activity: parents as tutors of preschool children and school-age children; parents as paid school employees, and parents as administrative advisors and decision-makers. Stearns and Peterson further observed a phenomenon that now appears generalizable: for parents as employees and parents as decision-makers, no direct evidence was found to confirm or reject the basic hypothesis about impacts on children, although there is evidence of benefits in participating adults.

Thornton A. Liechty (1979) identifies five types of educational participants within a county school district, ranging from "Inactives," to "Voters", to "Parents" (meaning those parents involved in a particular activity for self and family), to "Citizens" (meaning those engaged in elective activities and cooperative endeavors), and "Activists" (meaning those responsible for cooperative activities and dynamic endeavors).

Participation, clearly, is not the same across the board. This study substantiates the obvious expectation that different groups within a given community will choose different types of participation in that community.

This Coleman report, based on self-administered questionnaires distributed among school principals as well as teachers, has spurred a limited number of subsequent surveys. Coleman reported in 1966 that while black students' access to educational resources was almost equal to that of their white counterparts, the scholastic performance of the black students was substantially below that of the white students. Subsequent re-analyses of Coleman's data have produced inconclusive results. Some studies support the original interpretations while others offer serious challenge. One reassessment of the Coleman data, carried out by Jencks (1972), concludes that PTA attendance does relate significantly to school achievement: the children of parents belonging to local PTA's scored, in reading and mathematics tests, between two and four months above those children whose parents did not regularly attend meetings.

However, Madaus (1979) finds evidence directly contradicting the conclusions of the Coleman reprot. In a long-term, large-scale longitudinal study of schools in Ireland, results suggest that differences in the school characteristics such as academic atmosphere and activities significantly affect student achievement. Furthermore, this study found individually designed tests to be more accurate and sensitive indicators of school achievement than the standardized tests, warning us against misinterpreting previous data based on these standardized test results.

While we must of course allow for differences in the school systems in Ireland and the United States, Madaus' study does allow us to define factors in the schools significantly influencing student achievement, among them a climate of high expectations and a commitment to high academic values in the schools.

In reviewing the literature on effective schools, Ron Edmonds bears out these conclusions. Edmonds concluded that student family background has no clearly predictable influence on the effectiveness of elementary school instruction. Furthermore, he defines several essential elements as determinants of student achievement, including high expectations for students and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to learning.

During the 1960's, a number of parent-focused intervention programs brought community members into direct teaching relationship with preschool and school-age children. Like the Stearns-Peterson work, these programs indicate that such relationships typically show a greater impact upon actual achievement than do the more formal PTA/governance relationships, which by and large effect self-concept rather than learning per se. Watson (1977), for instance, evaluated an experimental school curriculum that focused on community involvement in Gainesville, Florida. Examining pre-and post-study achievement scores on six sections of the Scholastic Achievement Test, Watson found generally higher scores among high community-involved students, with a significant increase in language achievement. A study coordinated by Audrey Jackson for the Dade County Public Schools, and validated by North Carolina University, corroborated Watson's findings with evidence that for each 2 and 1/2 months of tutorial assis-

tance provided by a community volunteer, reading and math scores, as measured by the Metropolitan Reading and Math, gained 1 and 1/2 years.

Theodore C. Wagenaar (1977), from Ohio State University, conducted a similar study to investigate the relationship between school achievement and community support. Wagenaar's hypothesis was that schools experiencing high levels of community involvement have higher achievement levels than those experiencing low levels of involvement and support. Data were gathered from official documents made available by the school system, and questionnaires were sent to principals in a sample of 135 elementary schools. Findings indicated that several dimensions of community involvement and support have a moderate positive relationship with achievement in both high and low socio-economic status schools, but no direct relationship was found between achievement level and community particiaption in decision-making.

Wanda Harris Baker (1971), in her work at the University of Southern California, concluded that parent participation influences the learning environment, which is related to learner change, to a significant degree. Spencer (1978), in an evaluation of a family school program conducted at the University City School District in University City, Missouri, reports data supporting the hypothesis that a significant relationship exists between family involvement and reading achievement. More specifically, Spencer's data revealed that students in grades eight and nine made greater reading achievement gains than did students in grades three to six. In another study, Armor and associates reported on the role of parents in aiding schools to implement successful reading programs. Between 1972

and 1975, poor black and Mexican-American sixth-grade students in 20 elementary schools in Los Angeles showed significant increases in reading scores. In black neighborhoods, reported Armor, the more vigorous the school efforts to involve parents in community and school decision-making, the better did sixth-grade students in those schools fare in reading attainment.

In a review of programs in which parents stay at home as volunteers, Judith Masoner reports that educators in St. Paul, Minnesota, have developed an ongoing home-based program involving parents as tutors for their own children. Mothers, fathers and grandparents of over 50% of the students in participating schools have been trained to assist their youngsters in mathematics as a supplement to the normal school curriculum. As a result, student achievement in this area has jumped significantly.

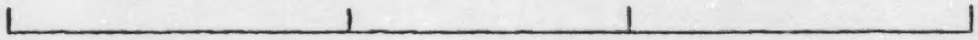
Berlin and Berlin validated Masoner's conclusions with findings pertinent to Head Start Programs nationwide. School programs of remediation, they found, showed no lasting effect, except for children whose mothers became directly involved in the classroom process. They also point out the functional relationship between improved school achievement and self-concept in children. In order to continue parent involvement in the education of children the authors suggested that the schools embark on a parent effectiveness training program which might enhance parents as educators of their children. Finally, in the most systematic study done to date of the educational consequences of parent involvement, Marcia Guttentag (1972), has assessed the productivity of one experimental district in Harlem during the late 1960's. Did children in the experimental

Intermediate School 201 (IS 201) learn any more than they had before community participation in the former organization? Guttentag wrote in a report in 1972 and referred to the results of the 1971 achievement testing. By the psychological corporation, she compared IS 201 scores with those with the city as a whole during 1968-69. IS 201 children, especially first and second graders, did well in the context of city-wide figures. Guttentag cites one IS 201 school that surpassed national norms in reading. Reading levels in IS 201 schools held up in 1968-69 at a time when city reading levels fell. Achievement test mean scores rose between 1969 and 1971 in the second through sixth grades. She concludes that achievement in the community-controlled schools apparently improved over the three-year period of their existence. As far as self-concept is concerned, the IS 201 children appeared to be significantly more related to others than was the case with comparison children. Both credit for success and blame for failure tended to be placed by children on teachers, parents and schools rather than on themselves. Guttentag reports that they more often gave credit to teachers for their own good performance than did comparison children. This strong other-orientation may well be related to external control attitudes thought to be central to feelings of fate-control and therefore to self-concept formation.

Contemporary Citizen Participation in Education

Thus the notion of community participation is generalized and the literature gives us no clear definition of participation and its specific effects in the schools. We must determine two fundamental tendencies

toward citizen involvement in the labor of instruction or actual teaching, on the one hand, and in its management in academic administration and policy-making, on the other. We also then see that if the general phenomenon of active participation can be divided into two principal areas of intervention dealing, respectively, with child development and school governance, then each of these primary divisions can be subdivided within a framework placing the participants in differing positions. I suggest an overlapping four-part continuum, viewing participants as clients on one end, decision-makers or governors, on the other end, with some of the participants also assuming producer roles.



Client-Related Participation | Producer-Related Participation | Consumer-Related Participation | Governor-Related Participation

FIGURE 2

An overview of these patterns of community participation helps us see how the varied forms of community action operate within this conceptual framework. The tendency for the pendulum of control in these participation patterns is to swing from a professional orientation to shared governance to lay control.

Participation for Public Relations

Under the framework of public relations, schools view parents and other community people as clients. They view participation in school affairs as a privilege, not a right. As a result, the schools mount a

campaign of controlled information to maintain a favorable image vis-a-vis their clients. The school may have a PTA which is asked to plan social activities. They may plan a "teacher's day" or hold a specially scheduled "education week." There may be talent shows, meet-the-staff nights, etc.

The superintendent and other administrators may be called on to participate in various civic meetings to "inform" the community on the state of education in their schools and to interpret the school to the community. Often there is a school paper which reaches the community and describes, mainly in positive terms, the programs of the school.

Parents are invited to school only for regularly scheduled events or if the child, for any reason, is having difficulty.

The natural intent of public relations is to control the communication in such a way that the best is emphasized. It is also a natural part of public relations to encourage the participation of the client, but to encourage it specifically in ways that are acceptable to the school.

Under a successful school public relations program, the parent is made to feel that the school has things under control, that the parent can feel confident that the child is in good hands. If the parents and other community residents feel confident, there is usually little reason for any other kind of participation. The attitude sums up as "after all, we pay the professionals to do their job, and if they do well, fine."

Participation for Instructional Support

Another form of community participation involves parents, other community residents and agencies in the direct affairs of the school

through such efforts as school volunteers, paraprofessionals and business, industrial, cultural, or civic programs. This involvement views participants as producers and their participation efforts seek to increase the base of talent within the school by tapping community resources. Women's groups have volunteered their services on a regular basis for such roles as hall monitors, reading tutors, clerical aides, library assistants, lunchroom assistants and dramatics club assistants.

In certain urban centers, so-called paraprofessional programs have been launched. Under these "new career" efforts (Pearl & Riessman, 1965), community residents, usually economically disadvantaged, are "trained" to assume roles in school as paid teacher aides or teacher assistants. Paraprofessionals assume such duties as supervising lunch-time and recess activities, operating audio-visual equipment, assisting children with homework, tutoring in specified skill areas, assuming the teacher's clerical functions, preparing materials used in teaching and demonstrations, correcting homework, assisting students at home in subjects requiring special competency--for example, mathematics, history, biology--and working with small groups in special technical areas, for example, plastics, electronics and design.

Paraprofessional programs help community residents earn a living as well as learn something about their schools. The paraprofessionals become important links to the community and are able to reach parents and students who otherwise might not be contacted.

Today, community resources are expanding for the school. For some years, individuals from business and industry, for instance, have come to

school as occasional "visiting teachers." In some schools, much of the education takes place in the community itself, outside the four walls of the classroom. Schools without walls (for example, in Philadelphia, Chicago, Berkeley, Hartford) have students use the resources of the community--hospitals, museums, cultural centers, scientific institutions, publishing firms, insurance firms--as "classrooms" and thus extend community involvement even further.

Gaining wide acceptance in past years as a vital connector of community and school, this form ties the participant directly to the major function and primary labor force of the school. Research suggests this type of community participation can and does indeed lead to increased student achievement. Evidently, the more related the participation is to actual instructional activities, the more it results in increased student achievement. Quite obviously, according to the nature of the task, there are limits to the number of participants any school or, indeed, any system can accommodate. Economic crises, however, stimulate and may even necessitate volunteer programs, occasioning, as they do, a reexamination of community resources for ways they may be linked to the educational process.

Hence, it will hardly surprise us to find participation in instuctional support on the rise in the future. A current trend, involves parents taking over the instructional role entirely, and educating their children at home. For our purposes, however, we review only the roles of parents as participants in the schools. Historically, schools have been asked to respond to new needs as the needs emerge by adding on

to the core curriculum such specialized programs as driver education, sex education, or vocational training. This has meant adding on specialized teachers and incurring greater expenses as well. The future, therefore, will probably see a fuller use of the competence already available in the community setting.

Participation for Community Service

The third form of participation is participation for community service. Here, the participant's role is that of an active, intelligent, and informed consumer. In this case, the school is seen as the center of the community, offering to its members, young and old, a range of services after school, in the evenings and on weekends. Viewing parents as well as children as their customers, school officials in support of community service have extended their afternoon programs for children into evening programs for adults. These programs may be academic, vocational, or avocational in nature: drama clubs, child-care training, literacy classes, etc.

This sort of participatory system speaks to an elementary economy of time as well as space, making maximum use of the school's existing structure and available time. Opening its doors not just to a segment of the population but to the total citizenry, it transforms the public school into a true community school. And a community school serves more than a social, recreational, or strictly academic function. Parents can use the school to discuss and plan civic programs. Community schools can serve as forums for solving a variety of community problems such as school integration, urban renewal, family relocation and organization of indigenous neighborhood leadership. What is more, daytime students can become

involved in any of these evening seminars as a phase of the citizen career orientation which emphasizes participatory behaviors.

Participation for Accountability and School Governance

This brings us to the fourth form of involvement which has its purpose in matters of school governance and its origin, as we suggested above, in the first political roots of school participation.

Public education in the United States was never meant to become a completely professional matter. The community's role as trustee is a central tenet accomplished in a variety of ways, from the reemphasis on local control, to the mandating school boards and school committees who set policy, to the decentralization of decision-making, especially in the larger cities.

The role of the citizen in the governance of the school and the role of the parent in the governance of education have been alluded to previously. Schools have attempted to respond to the call for increased accountability in school governance by establishing patterns which are consultative in nature, and by referring to community groups and parents for opinions on a variety of matters. On a more regular basis, lay commissions can act in an advisory capacity, as formal organizations such as councils are established, to offer advice on all policies and all decisions relative to the operation of the school. In other instances, lay commissions assume an actual authoritative function, or the family itself is made legislator, as well as ultimate selector, of the kind of education most suitable to its members. The latter process is implemented through an educational voucher mechanism. Presumed a purchaser or con-

sumer of the state's educational services, each family, granted a voucher equivalent to the cost of a year's education, is thereby free to shop around for the style of schooling it desires. This type of participation does not, according to available research, result directly in increased student achievement. But it does not aim to, and indeed is not intended to achieve that result. As I have previously stated, the decision-making role played by participants in a democratic society is a privilege and a process to be valued in and of itself.

Participation for Crisis Resolution

There is yet another form of community participation, which occurs when the school or school system faces a major problem. We are all familiar with problems--such as double sessions, racial conflicts, school bussing plans, program cutbacks in interscholastic athletics, or strikes--which trigger substantial community concern. Usually, when these issues are discussed, school auditoria are filled to capacity with concerned parents. In these cases, the participants have strong feelings about the issues at hand. Their participation is aimed at immediate resolution of the crisis. At times, the large showing of community participants continues often in a hectic manner, until something is done about the discontent.

Suggestions For Future Research

While the existing body of literature on community participation in the schools is small, studies in this area are as yet inconclusive, and the evidence they provide proves insufficient, we can look to the litera-

ture for suggestions for future research. First of all, we must continue to explore the various forms of citizen involvement in education. Client, producer, consumer, governor--these separate patterns provide a conceptual framework isolating different forms and allowing us to identify them more clearly. But we must look at the connections between these theoretical concepts and clarify, in practical terms, the relationships between the different forms of communication. Liechty's research (1979) supports the natural intuition that different citizens will opt for different roles within a given system of school-community interaction, but we must delineate more precisely these different roles and their inter-relationships.

We have defined one role of the parents in the schools as producers, involved in the labor of teaching. Available evidence does support the general belief that increased instruction does indeed result in an increase in student achievement. But we have yet to determine whether it makes any difference to the child if it is parents, paraprofessionals, or professionals who provide the additional instruction. Can parents be educated for involvement in education? Projects such as "Parents Are Teachers Too" provide parents with materials, activities, and techniques for inter-acting with young children. The education of parents in areas related to school governance is suggested by the "Parent Education Follow Through Projects" (Gordon, 1978). But overviews of these programs' goals and activities do not give us the complete picture. The current situation calls for further study, resting on definitions of the different types of parental involvement in education, and delineations of the limitations and potential of these different roles. Furthermore, what

is the relationship between parent participation in the schools and academic motivation in children? How do parents function as role models for their children, and what is the effect of various parental role models on the child's behavior and achievements in school? Edmonds (in press) and Madaus (1979) both claim the expectations of the school and the attitudes of the students are crucial factors in the determination of classroom achievement. How do parents affect these expectaions and attitudes?

Investigation into the effect of parent participation in creating continuity or dichotomy between home and school is also called for.

Closely related to this is the question of fate-contol. The Coleman report (1966) concluded that the extent to which an individual feels he has control over his fate is a crucial factor in determining school success and apparently has more of a relationship to the child's achievement in school than school-related factors. What then determines an individual's sense of fate-control? In the realm of education, can community participation affect the individual's sense of controlling and directing his own destiny? Do parents involved in the education of their children feel an increased sense of fate-control? In particular, does governance-related participation among so-called powerless groups in society have significant impact on the sense of fate-control of parents and children in that group?

Future studies on the role and effect of community participation must provide critical background information if they are to prove useful in formulating educational policies. The background of the students, the parents, and the school community should be described, as should the

the roles of the professional educators and support staff in the schools. The actual substance of each community involvement project must be carefully outlined, including information on the amount, nature, and frequency of parent participation. Procedures used to measure the outcome and record the results must also be explained. Another crucial factor in any research on community participation is consideration of the relationship of the activity to other ongoing activities in the schools and in the homes. The identity of the person conducting the research becomes a legitimate concern. A white male working with female subjects, for instance, or a white male working with a population of black children, may affect research simply by virture of who he is. We also need to be aware of situational analysis in research. When citizens are engaged in fighting a bureaucracy, for instance, much of their energy is expended in defensive measures, yet they are judged as if they were fully and freely involved in school-community projects. When parents are in the midst of a political or ecomic crises, they are not in a normal situation, yet our patterns of participation always assume conditions of normalcy. The context in any given situation must be considered in taking the measure of any mode of participation.

The models of community participation studied in the literature were in the process of development rather than being fully operational systems. In some instances, the research project and the program of parent participation actually began simultaneously. Parents were sometimes in the midst of receiving special training for their active participation in the schools, and had not yet had time to learn their roles when the research began.

Since the patterns of participation in these instances were still evolving, the studies, in effect, are assessments of developmental patterns, and not analyses of ongoing programs. We must take this into account when we look at the results of such studies, and when we plan future research strategies.

We must look to other disciplines, such as anthropology, for our models of research, especially with the governance-related patterns of participation. While governance is a right per se, we must also look at the role it may have in affecting student achievement. Governance-related participation involves making decisions and formulating policies. The effects of decisions take time to emerge, and the implementation of policies is also effective only in time. Therefore, studies of governance-related participation must be longitudinal, extending over long periods of time.

Conclusion

The review of the literature thus far leaves one to make the following tentative conclusions. Of the two basic patterns of community participation, participation for school governance shows no significant impact upon school achievement, except insofar as the self-concept of the child of individual governing parents is concerned. Such children do seem to exhibit an enhanced self-image, though even that evidence is inconclusive.

On the other hand, the pattern of involvement which focuses directly upon the education process in itself, and finds the parent a participating

educator, does show a relationship to school achievement in reading and mathematics as well as self-concept. The result is a trend toward greater efforts in the training of parents as teachers and a continued rise in school community volunteer efforts. The closer collaboration of the home and the school in the affairs of improving school achievement is similarly gaining greater support.

In the aftermath of the reviews of federal intervention programs of the 1960's and 1970's, it is safe to conclude that the more the scholastic objectives are clarified, the more the participants are prepared to assume roles in the instructional process, the more likely are measurable differences in academic performance. The more global forms of participation in the governance of schools, the less likely the consequences on the scholastic performance of students, with some noticeable exceptions. The trend toward increased participation, however, not only is continuing in the federal programs requiring increased parent participation, but also states such as California and Florida have mandated participation at the individual school level. The formation of parent councils and district-wide advisory councils are in part a response to the call for increased accountability. Such councils, combined with increased parent-as-educator models of participation, are now being viewed as contributing maximally to increased performance on the part of students, as well as to a new responsiveness on the part of school officials to the aspirations of the community they serve.

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March, 1980